

The University of Chicago

QUADRILITERALS FROM
THE DIALECT OF RAS AL-MATN
(LEBANON)

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1935

By
ANIS KHURI FRAYHA

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NOTE

Part II, consisting of a glossary, to which reference is made in the following pages, is to be found only in the complete dissertation, which is in the University Libraries.



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I. QUADRILITERALS FROM THE DIALECT OF

RAS AL-MATN (LEBANON)

The whole material for this study was collected at one single spot in the Lebanon, namely at Ras Al-Matn. This is a village of about 1600 inhabitants. It is located at the top of a mountain which is about 800 meters above the sea level in the district known as Al-Matn Al-A'lā, east of Beirut. Over seventy-five per cent of the population is Druze. The rest are Christians of the Greek Orthodox Church. There is not one single Maronite in the village, nor has there been any, as far as the oldest man in the village can remember. This is significant because the noted scholar, Michel Feghālī, who devoted many years to the study of Lebanon dialects, and who wrote more than any other orientalist on this subject, based his whole study on the Maronite dialect, he himself being one. The influence of Syriac in the Lebanese dialect is most conspicuous in the Maronite villages where Syriac is still living in the Church and in the village school connected with the Church. Feghālī is quite right in his statement in his Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban, page x: "dans tout le Liban et même dans l'ensemble de la Syrie sédentaire, on parle un seul et même idiome facilement intelligible à tous." But I disagree with him in his generalization concerning the Druze dialect (ibid., p. xi), which he maintains to be free from Syriac influence. "Là (in The Shūf) se parle un idiome complètement soustrait à l'influence de l'ancienne langue du Liban, le Syriac...." The Druzes, like the rest of the population in Lebanon, speak a dialect greatly influenced by the northwestern Semitic dialects

spoken in Syria and Palestine prior to the advent of Arabic. This is clearly seen in vocabulary, grammar and construction.

So, for a more extensive study of Lebanese dialects, it is necessary to take a village in which there are no Maronites. Besides this fact there were several factors which led the writer to choose this village as a center for this linguistic study. In the first place it is my own native village. The language of the people is my own language. In this village I could look into the private life of the people. I understand their psychology, customs, habits, feelings, beliefs and superstitions. In other words in this village I am at home. In the second place this is a stronghold of Druzedom. It is one of the very few villages still left untouched, as one of the religious leaders there put it to me, "by the moral and character-destroying processes of westernization." Druzedom here is still preserved at its best in conservatism and fanaticism. In the third place Rās is very much cut off from the rest of the world, more so than any other village in the Lebanon. Two very deep steep valleys, one on the north and the other on the south, join at the west end of the mountain, thereby forming an actual peninsula. During the rainy season and the early part of spring two very powerful torrents flow in both valleys, forming the river known as Nahr Beirut. Early in the twentieth century the village was connected with Beirut by a carriage road, but in a very roundabout way due to the topographical difficulty of building a direct route. The Druze population oppose vigorously any attempt at building a road which would make their village, like the rest of Lebanon, a summer resort. This contact with the outside world, to them, appears harmful. It helps to break down some of the things they have valued during the last thousand years. So this seclusion has greatly helped to preserve

faithfully many ancient, typically native forms, linguistic, religious and social.

Sources and Method of Collecting

This collection of quadriliterals is not from books or manuscripts. It was collected from the lips of the people. An Assyriologist, who deals with a dead language, asked me once about the sources from which I collected this list. I told him. I could see on his face an expression of doubt, for he was accustomed to resort to hard baked clay for reference and verification. Here, those who insist on a written document as a real source material will be disappointed. I may state, however, that I did read a large collection of modern Arabic folk poetry (*بمعنى وترد أبي*) and I am sure that the greater part of this collection could be verified in written documents. But this is not necessary, because the method I used eliminates any doubt as to the form, vocalization and meaning. The collection is a result of several years of observation. Whenever I heard a word which did not sound to me to be classical Arabic, I wrote it down on a piece of paper. I never let people know that I was watching their speech, for any kind of people, especially of the rural districts, whenever they are conscious that some one is listening attentively to their speech, they immediately change their diction, mode of expression, and pronunciation. Then I waited until I heard it again on some other occasion, or until I had asked one or two persons about that word and its meaning, before recording it on an individual card.

Quadriliterals in the Living Speech

Unlike modern classical Arabic, the spoken Lebanese Arabic uses a very large number of quadriliterals. This study is based on more than 1000 quadriliterals, the greater part of which are not

found in Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, or in any other collection of non-classical vocabulary. This number does not include derived stems. For those who are familiar with the Semitic languages this number must seem extremely high, because the number of quadriliterals in Semitic languages (with the exception of Arabic and Ethiopic) is small indeed when compared with the bulk of the bi- and trilateral roots. Furthermore, whatever number of quadriliterals does exist in other languages, philologists have always viewed as archaisms or exceptions. But the case in the modern spoken Arabic of the Lebanons is quite different. The quadriliterals are not survivals nor are they exceptions, but rather a living essential part of the vocabulary of every individual. When one of us considers how small is the number of words an ordinary individual uses when compared to the total number of words that make up that language, one thousand quadrilateral verbs in the daily speech of the ordinary peasant surely are not a phenomenon to be considered exceptional or archaic, but rather a living linguistic process.

This indicates that the quadriliterals must have been at all times very common in daily use and much more numerous than their representation in the written literature of the Semitic languages would lead us to believe. There are certain forms, such as fay'al, faw'al, fa'wal, far'al, shaf'al,...etc., ordinarily listed in grammars as survivals, which are so much alive that the formation of new forms from ordinary trilaterals is a very natural process today. For instance, nayzal "to lower" and bay'ad "to put far, to move away," after many observations, were found to be the natural forms on the tongue of the ordinary person in Rās, and that nazzal and ba'ad were rarely heard.

How widely spread is the use of quadriliterals in the

Lebanons? This list was given to seven different persons (three of them students in The American University of Beirut) from seven different villages in Lebanon, and they were asked to put a cross beside each word unfamiliar to them. The number marked with a cross was surprisingly small. The highest was seventy-four from a thousand, and interestingly enough this number was marked by one of the students who, I suspect, was not in close touch with the language of the peasants in his village, for he had lived much in schools away from his home. It is not only in the Lebanons that these quardiliterals are in daily use, but I venture to say that the great majority of them are very well known throughout Syria and Palestine. The list was given to a Palestinian student from Ramallah, about ten miles north of Jerusalem, and he marked over one hundred fifty verbs as unfamiliar to him. Then the list was turned over to a student from Damascus, and he marked over one hundred seventy-five. But this does not prove that the one hundred fifty marked by the Palestinian or the one hundred seventy-five marked by the Damascene are not known at all in Palestine and Syria, because it is quite possible that these two students did not happen to have heard them. So one is fairly safe in stating that the use of the quadriliterals is almost the same in the modern spoken Arabic of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. Cherbonneau has shown, too, that quadriliterals in Africa are also very common.¹

If the generalization made above is true, namely, that the use and number of quadriliterals must have been much greater in the early periods of the Semitic speech, as evidenced by the living

¹Cf. A. Cherbonneau, "Observations sur l'origine et la formation du langage arabe africaine," *J.A.*, Série 5, vol. 6 (1855); *ibid.*, "Nouvelles observations sur le dialecte arabe de l'Algérie," *J.A.*, Série 5, vol. 18, pp. 357 ff.; *ibid.*, *Revue africaine*, vol. XII (1868).

example of the quadriliterals in the modern spoken Aramaic of today, how did it happen that they are so few in the recorded literature of the Semitic languages? It seems that the writing of literature had something to do with the elimination of the quadriliterals. In ordinary daily speech we speak in one way, but when we write it down we write and express ourselves in a different way. Whenever literature or poetry is written down it goes through a selective process, especially in the matter of style and vocabulary. The writer consciously or subconsciously is inclined to choose his words carefully, to construct his phrases in a way which differs from the speech of the ordinary man. In this selective process quite naturally he departs from the ordinary and common. This was especially true until twenty-five to fifty years ago in the language of the modern writers of Arabic. To write a simple, direct comprehensible language was not a sign of scholarship or genius, but rather a lowering of one's self to the level of the common man of the street. Writers of literature possessed by the tendency for exquisite aestheticism existed in every age, as for example, the prophet Joel. Despite the fact that we try as much as possible to write as we speak, we find that our writing is different from that of our daily language. The quadriliterals, which were very common, began to be eliminated by this selective process because they were part of the Dāriġ, the spoken language of the people. But the Dāriġ, which had never fallen under this selective process, preserved to us the richness and fullness of those forms which were common in olden times and which we now call archaic. Dāriġ has never been written down, and even when it was written down, was never recognized as literature. One may think of the immense number of quadriliterals in the standard dictionaries of the classical Arabic and wonder at the fact that a very

small number of them lives in literature. The Koran has not even fifty quadriliterals.

Quadriliterals in Classical Arabic

Arabic grammarians speak of *فعل راعي*, that is, a quadriliteral verb in which they could not see an augmented letter to the trilateral root, and *ملحق باراعي* in which they saw a derived form from the trilateral. But the paradigm-form used by them, *فعلل* was unfortunate. For *fa'alal* means to us that the third radical is reduplicated and no more, but to the Arab grammarians it meant a fourth letter-element with no indication as to which of the four letters was the element added to the trilateral base. For example, *قرع* "to them" is after *فعلل*, but in fact it must be after the form *fa'fal*, *قرع*.

Very few studies have been devoted to the subject,² and even those written about this subject fail to include all the possible forms. A simple survey of them in any dictionary reveals to us a vast number of possibilities by which trilaterals became quadriliterals. A study of quadriliterals in Arabic will be handicapped, however, by the fact that their meaning is not clear. The early lexicographers were not quite sure about the meaning. The majority of them fall under one or the other of a small number of concepts, such as, *طول صلب شديد ضخم غليظ* "ي" *احد سيء الخلق*.

Quadriliteral Forms and Their Evolution

In view of their evolution we shall divide them into two main groups, A and B. Group A includes those which — as far as

²Cf. A. Joly, "Sur les dérivations du trilitère et les origines du quadrilitère en Arabe," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des orientalistes* (Alger, 1905), III^e partie, pp. 394ff.; Sigmund Fränkel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der mehrlautigen Bildungen im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1878); F. G. Schwarzlose, *De Linguae Verborum Pluriliteralium Derivatione* (Berlin, 1854); M. Hartman,

the research of the writer was able to penetrate — could not be resolved into biliteral or triliteral elements found elsewhere in some Semitic language. Group B includes all of those which could be resolved into bi- and triliteral elements found elsewhere in some Semitic language. In other words Group B constitutes the derived forms.

Group A

This group falls into two categories. The first is of non-Semitic origin, mostly from Turkish, Persian, and Italian. But the forms are analogous to the regular quadriliteral forms, for example, فوس "to search for," is a faw'al from فانوس , a Greek word, φανός; from كرتينا "quarantine," we get كرتن ; from سكورتا , the Italian "securta," we get سوكر "to register, to insure"; تونن "to regulate" is a faw'al form from تانون , the Greek χανων . The second category includes those whose etymology is dubious, at least as far as the writer's knowledge is concerned. I would not be surprised to find some of them coming from Hittite or some other non-Semitic origin. Or, on the other hand, some may be from some Semitic language but not recorded in any known document. This latter assumption is quite possible, for how much do we know, for instance, about the Phoenician and Canaanitic languages? This does not mean that the writer did not suggest certain etymological possibilities (for example, see under سقرق شنطل in part II), nor does it mean that some are totally obscure, as for instance, سېكن "to become thorny," from ههههه and cf. ههههه , classical Arabic, شوك .

Die Pluriliteralbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Hebräischen Chaldäischen und Neusyrischen (Halle, 1875); W.B. Stade, Über den Ursprung der mehrlautigen Thatwörter der Ge'ez Sprache (Leipzig, 1871).

Group B

In this group the biliteral or the trilateral element may be recognized.³ It is not necessarily true that each of these roots is still living in daily speech, but the overwhelming majority of them are. Those which are obsolete may have been living at some earlier time. So we can technically designate the quadriliterals of this group as derived forms or stems, as they are called in some grammars.

There are two main processes by which a biliteral or a trilateral could become quadriliteral, namely, I. Reduplication and II. Augmentation.

Reduplication occurs in these quads in the following manner:

- A) reduplication of the whole biliteral stem, fa'fa'.
- B) reduplication of the first radical, fa'fal.
- C) reduplication of the second radical, fa'la'.
- D) reduplication of the third radical, fa'al.
- E) reduplication of the third radical after the first, fa fal.

Under this class we may list four other forms which show reduplication plus augmentation. These forms are: (a) fa'fā, (b) farfa', (c) fawfa', (d) fayfa'.

Augmentation takes place as:

- A) prefix: (1) 'af'al ع, (2) baf'al ب, (3) daf'al د, (4) haf'al ح, (5) maf'al م, (6) naf'al ن, (7) qaf'al ق, (8) saf'al س, (9) shaf'al ش, (10) taf'al ت, (11) ṭaf'al ط.

³It must be admitted that in this collection there are a number of verbs which admit more than one etymological possibility. Such verbs are listed under one heading in the glossary.

B) infix: (1) fa^ˈal ع , (2) fab^ˈal ب , (3) fah^ˈal ح ,
 (4) fal^ˈal ل , (5) fam^ˈal م , (6) fan^ˈal ن , (7) far^ˈal ر ,
 (8) faw^ˈal و , (9) fay^ˈal ي .

The infix may come after the second radical in which case we have: (1) fa^ˈbal ب , (2) fa^ˈdal د , (3) fa^ˈlal ل , (4) fa^ˈmal م , (5) fa^ˈnal ن , (6) fa^ˈral ر , (7) fa^ˈtal ت , (8) fa^ˈwal و , (9) fa^ˈyal ي .

C) suffix: (1) fa^ˈlā ي , (2) fa^ˈlab ب , (3) fa^ˈlal ل , (4) fa^ˈlam م , (5) fa^ˈlan ن , (6) fa^ˈlar ر , (7) fa^ˈlas س , (8) fa^ˈlash ش , (9) fa^ˈlat ت .

The Formatives, Their Significance and Origin

The formatives, that is, the letter-elements which appear as prefixes, infixes and suffixes in the derived forms of the quadriliterals are: ب ت د ر ز س ش ط ق ل م ن ه و ي . Arranged according to their points of articulation, they fall into the following categories: (1) labials, و م ب (semivowel diphthongal); (2) dentals, ط ت د ن ; (3) liquids, ل ر ; (4) sibilants, ش س ; (5) palatal, ي (semivowel diphthongal); (6) uvular, ق ; (7) laryngeals, ه ع . They present us with a two-fold problem, namely, first, to discover the force behind the process of evolution from a biliteral or triliteral into quadriliteral, and second, to discover the meaning and origin of each of the formatives. To be sure, the problem is not an easy one. In the first place we are dealing with linguistic processes whose beginnings are in remote antiquity. In the second place sound laws in Semitic speech have not as yet been fully studied. In the third place the material at hand does not provide sufficient data to warrant generalizations. So with such difficulties in the way all that the student of Semitic philology can aspire to do is a

modest attempt. To illustrate let one think for a moment of what have been called dissimilated intensive forms, such as, far'al, fan'al, faw'al, etc. The explanation of such forms has been repeatedly stated, namely, that the r, n, w, etc. are substitutes for doubling the middle radical.⁴ In other words they are dissimilated forms of فَعَّلَ. But what does determine the use of one letter rather than the other? Is it the preceding and the following letters? A study of fan'al, far'al, and faw'al of this collection did not throw enough light to justify any general statement. It seems as if their occurrence is a matter of chance. One should not forget too the part analogy plays in language,⁵ for once a new form is established and once it becomes a living example, it becomes easy and natural for the people to derive new forms after this pattern.

Let us consider now the first part of our two-fold problem, namely, the process which resulted in the existence of quadriliteral formations. A great deal of the truth lies in the Arabic dictum: زياده في المعنى زياده في المبني; which means that when a new letter-element is added to the basic root it imparts a new nuance to the general concept implied by the root. There is no doubt that by this dictum is meant primarily the مَزِيدَات, the stems or forms of verb. But we have reason to believe that early Arab grammarians went a step further and noticed that the addition of

⁴Cf. Rudolf Ruzicka, Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen, (Beiträge zur assyr. und semit. Sprachwissenschaft)(1909), VI, 4; Jacob Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen, section 38, pp. 54 ff.; Carl Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, I, pp. 423 ff., 510 ff.; DeLacy O'Leary, Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, pp. 81 ff.

⁵Abel Henry Huizinga, Analogy in the Semitic Languages (1891).

one letter meant an addition of a new shade of meaning.⁶ A comparative study of the meaning of the trilateral and the derived quadrilateral shows us clearly this "زيادة في المعنى". In a general way one can say that the derived quadrilaterals as compared with the trilateral roots imply a sense of: 1) intensity or vehemence, 2) frequency or repetition, and 3) transitivity or causation. The next logical step would be to ask: Is this new nuance in meaning to be attributed to the new letter-element added to the trilateral? In other words, do individual formatives have independent meanings? This question must have occurred to the minds of early Arab grammarians. We have definite knowledge of a number of early works on the general subject, الحروف ومعانيها, the letters and their meaning, or الهجاء (the alphabet). A glance at the second chapter of Al-Fihrist shows us quite a number of them,⁷ by some of the outstanding Arab philologists. But probably one of the best on this subject is Ibn Jinni in his two works, سرائر الصنائع and الخصائص.⁸ The early Arab grammarians noticed that certain letters are more common in a certain family of verbs, which have a common general meaning, than they are in other families of verbs. One may feel safe in inferring that they must have viewed the basic meaning as being contained in one letter or in one letter in

⁶Cf. Suyûtî, Al-muzhir, I, p. 157 (quoting Ibn Faris):
ومن سنن العرب الزيادة في حروف الاسم اما للمبالغة واما للتسوية والتقييد نحو عشن للذي يرتعش
وزرق للشديد الزرقه وشدم للواسع الشدق وصدوم للناقص الصلبه والاصل صلد ومنه كبار وطوال
وطرماع للمفرط الطول وطرماع وسمعه نظره الكثير التسع والتنظر ومن سننهم الزيادة في حروف
العمل مبالغه يقولون حلاشي فاذا انتهى قالوا احلولى ويقولون اقلولى

⁷Cf. Al-Fihrist (ed. Flügel), pp. 39-88.

⁸Cf. Oscar Rescher, "Studien über Ibn Ginnî....," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Bd. 23, Heft I.

combination with another.⁹ In a general way one may ascribe a certain basic meaning to a certain consonant, for example, the letter **غ** is basic in words containing the following concepts: clouds, darkness, covering up, thickness. The letter **ق** or **ل** is basic in words meaning "to cut," "to split." The letter **ء**, **ا** is basic in words that express emptiness, void, besides being the natural sound caused by a gush of wind to and from the lungs in moments of surprise or fear. Hence, the interjection **ها** and the demonstrative **ها** which is basic in the formation of personal pronouns. Of course these are general observations which have a trace of truth in them; but to claim to be able to ascribe to each letter a certain meaning is taking too much for granted. Languages are combinations of phonemes which range in number between fifteen and forty-five in different languages, and to ascribe a certain meaning to one phoneme would be as saying that languages started with fifteen to forty-five concepts, which of course is absurd. Had the Arab philologists spoken of morphemes or elements that are associated with a certain definite meaning, then they would have been much nearer to the truth. It may be too that their observations were based on morphemes such as **قط** **ق** where the **ق** with a dental becomes a bound-morpheme with the basic idea "to cut," but they attributed it to **ق** rather than to the **ق** in combination with another letter.

When dealing with the origin of the formatives, we should not attempt to explain all of them as being remnants of once inde-

⁹Cf. Oscar Rescher, *op. cit.*, p. 15:

وليس غرضنا في هذا الكتاب ذكر هذه الحروف مؤلفه لان ذلك يقود الى استيعاب اللغة وهذا لا يطول جدا وليس عليه عقدنا هذا الكتاب وانما الغرض فيه ذكر احوال هذه الحروف منفردة او منتزعة من ابنيه الكلم التي هي مصونة فيها لما يخصها من القول في نفسها

pendent morphemes with a definite concept. In all probability many of them are not. Amalgamation or the complete fusion of two roots into a new one, what is called in Arabic *نحت* is almost foreign to all Semitic languages.¹⁰ What else may they be?

They may be deictic elements, the same as those which are at the basis of pronomina. It is a known fact now that the pronomina are not developed from conceptional roots, that is, biliterals or triliterals which contain a definite concept such as that in *Q-T-L* throughout its derivatives, but rather are formed from certain consonants which are basically deictic in their nature. To utter a sound expressing fear, surprise or wonder, to call attention to, or to call out to some one, or to point to a thing, all of these are among the most universal facts throughout the languages of the world. For this purpose it is most common to employ monosyllables. We need not dwell long on this point, for it has been fully studied by men like Barth,¹¹ Brockelmann,¹² Ancessi,¹³ Eneberg,¹⁴ and Vogel.¹⁵

¹⁰The fact that there are in Arabic about two score words that show signs of *نحت* does not prove at all that it is characteristic of the Semitic languages. Most of those words are sort of abbreviations, such as *يسئل*. Sheikho in *Al-mashriq*, vol. I, p. 1027, brought out that clearly in an article entitled

الالفاظ المنحوتة في العربية

¹¹Jakob Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1913).

¹²Brockelmann, *Grund.*, I, pp. 296 ff.

¹³L'abbé v. Ancessi, (a) *Études de grammaire comparée: l's causatif et le thème n dans les langues de Sem et Cham*; (b) *Un mémoire sur le thème m dans les langues de Sem et Cham*; (c) *Les adformantes dans les langues sémitiques*.

¹⁴K. Eneberg, *Une dissertation étymologique sur les pronomes Arabes (Ethiopiens, Syriens, Hébraïques et Chaldéens)*.

¹⁵O. Vogel, *Etude sur la formation du pronom personnel en Sémitique*.

If we examine the list of letters from which all Arabic pronouns are developed, we shall find that they are ten in number, namely, ا ب ذ ك ل م ن ه ي . The formatives which we have noticed in the derived quardiliterals are sixteen, counting ب ت ح د ر ز س ش ط ع ق ل م ن ه و ي as one.

So this leaves us a number of quadriliteral formatives to account for, namely, ب ح د ر ز س ش ط ع ق . Each of these letters, its origin and significance shall be discussed fully under the different forms in which they appear. But in a general way one may say that a number of them are pronominal elements, that is, deictic in origin. Though they do not appear in Arabic pronouns, such as ش , nevertheless they form a part of pronominal elements in other cognate Semitic languages. Some of them may be for some phonetic reasons, and some may have been in very remote times particles used for intensification of the idea found in the verb, or for causation. These forms or patterns may be viewed as being very ancient though some of the verbs may be recent formations.

Forms That Show Reduplication

a) Fa'fa'¹⁶

The number of verbs in this category is 168. This is a reduplicated form of a whole root. In this root there appear only two consonants. These roots belong to the mediae geminatae class, or to the middle or third weak verbs, and quite a number of them are onomapoetic. For example, حرجر "to drag," "to draw" from جر . رغغ (of eyes) "to have tears in them," from راغ (med. و), بكب "to supplicate, beg, entreat," from بكى "to weep." A glance at the simple roots of this group shows us

¹⁶Cf. Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 520.

over one hundred of them in the trilateralized form living side by side, with the same basic meaning, with the reduplicated form, such as, **فتت** "to break to pieces," "to crumble," and **فت**. Even in cases when the root is not known to exist as a living word in Dāriġ, one can always find the root from which it came, if not in Arabic, then in some other Semitic language, for example, for **جع** for **جعجع** "to make great noise," "to babble," "to chatter nonsensically," Although it does not occur as such, one can easily find the root * **جا** in Syriac **ܝܝܝܐ**.

A study of the difference in meaning between the **fa°** form and the **fa°fa°** form reveals to us the significance and force of the reduplication. Such a study shows us the following differences:

- 1) Intensification of the action, for example, **حف** "to rub," but **حفحف** "to rub intensively and for a long time."
حز "to pass a dull knife over something to be cut"; **حزحز** denotes the knife being passed back and forth several times. **طر** said of a splinter or any piece which flies off in any direction, as in hammering or crushing or chopping wood, etc.; **طوطر** on the other hand denotes several pieces or splinters flying in various directions.
- 2) Frequent repetition of the act, for example, **رط** "to bounce up once," but **رطرط** denotes frequent repetition of bouncing, continuing for some time. **تدق** "to hammer, or beat something continuously for a long time." **حاج تدق** "stop hammering!" "stop knocking!" is said by some one who has been hearing the sound for a long time, so that he became nervous and could not stand it any longer. It is not at all the same as when saying **حاج تدق** !
- 3) Causation, or making an intransitive transitive, for example, **رحح** "to give room to some one," "to make some one feel

comfortable by providing him with space or room," from the basic root ر from which we get Syriac ر ; and classical Arabic راج and probably رجب . Again رتش "to soak," "to soften by soaking," رش has the same meaning but intransitive. ررج "to shake (trans.);" "to cause to quiver, tremble, or vibrate"; ررج has the same meaning but in an intransitive sense. (ررج is intransitive in the sense, "to walk heavily.")

It is not difficult to see how the human mind, especially in its primitive stages, associated the idea of intensity, frequency and transitivity with the idea of repetition; for repetition means more, addition or increase.

b) Fa'fal¹⁷

That is, the form in which the first radical is reduplicated after the second radical. The number of verbs in this category is sixty-eight, few of which only are in Dozy. A survey of the sixty-eight trilateral roots which are at the basis of them shows fifty of them to be living in the Dārij with the same basic meaning. The rest do not live in the Dārij; but that does not mean at all that they did not have once an independent existence either in the classical Arabic or in some other Semitic language, for example, ررد "to dry up," "to become brittle with dryness," from ررد which does not exist in Dārij, but the root is found in Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midrashim, vol. 4, p. 372, ררר , cf. also ררר .

We may again ask ourselves the question, what is the difference then between fa'al and fa'fal? It is a difference in intensity, frequency and duration. The same general principle of reduplication which are noticed in fa'fa' holds true here. For

¹⁷Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 4.

example, طرش "to splash," "to spray," (said of mud or water), but طرطش "to splash violently," فرك "to rub," but فركك "to rub intensively and continuously and probably vehemently."

نلش "to spread around," "to throw about," "to strew around (especially said of packed things or things arranged or set in order)," differs from فلش in that the former expresses the idea of a large scale and probably a more intensive vehement action than that which is implied by the simple form.

c) Fa'la'¹⁸

That is, the form in which the second radical is reduplicated after the third. Unfortunately we have one verb to illustrate this form, namely, حرك "to search thoroughly," "to investigate," "to check up minutely," from حكر cf. حكر "a nook"; cf. also north Semitic קרק .

d) Fa'lal¹⁹

In this form the third radical is reduplicated. The number of verbs in this category is five, none of which is in Dozy. The five trilateral roots all live in Dārij. The same principle which we noticed in fa'fa' and fa'fal holds true here, for example, بهر "to dazzle," is more intensive than بهر ; بهر بهر "to surface roads by spreading a layer of small pebbles," بهر بهر (for بهر) "and rolling it afterwards."

e) Fal'al

That is, in which the third radical is reduplicated after the first. Unfortunately we have only one verb to illustrate the form, عصص "to shut the eyes when irritated by smoke or smell of

¹⁸Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 16.

¹⁹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 37.

onions, etc.," "to be blinded"; the root must be Dāriج عمص from the Syriac حصرى ; cf. classical Arabic غمض.

Forms That Show Two Kinds of Formation, Reduplication and Augmentation

a) Fa'fā

In this form we have the first radical reduplicated and a final ā (الف مقصورة). In this category we have three verbs, none of which is in Dozy. They are حوى "to say," حو , an interjection expressing cold, freezing, دردى "to come near a place," "to approach a place," "to come near," and صوصى "to squeak." حو and صو are onomapoetic roots. در is probably the basic root of دار . In the case of حوى and صوصى we may have a case of fa'fa'; but the final و became an ā in conformity with the general pattern of this verbal form.

b) Farfa'

In this form we have an added ر and reduplication of the first radical. We have four verbs in this category, one of which is in Dozy. The biliteral roots of these verbs exist in one or the other of the Semitic languages, and contain the same basic meaning as that of the derived quadriliteral. These verbs are: كركب "to spill water"; "to cause commotion," كركب "to become weak, exhausted, frustrated," شرش "to hang down," شرش "to scare, terrify," "to cause antipathy or abhorrence," ززع . (For further details see these verbs in part II.)

c) Fawfa'

In this form we have an added و after the first radical and reduplication of the first. There are three verbs in this category, two of which are not in Dozy. They are حواحيس (حوص) "the viscera of a bird," صوصف "to scorch cloth when ironing,"

كوكب "to shine," "to be illuminated." كوكب in this meaning is lacking in Dozy. They are formed from the biliteral roots حس "to feel," صف = Syriac ضف "to burn," كب "to be round" (this seems to be the basic meaning of $\sqrt{\text{كف}}$ and not shine, see كوكب in part II). In the case of كوكب we have a fa'fa' (ككب) in which a labial has become a و for dissimilative reasons (cf. ككب for ككب; also cf. examples cited by Brockelmann, *Grund.* I, p. 247) صصف may also be for صصف (the ف is not very far from the ب). In حواحيس we have a plural (= فواعل) in which the popular tongue may have been the cause for forming حواحيس instead of حواس, yet the form is there and constitutes an example for the pattern fawfa'.

d) Fayfa'

This form is characterized by a ي infixed after the first radical and reduplication of the first radical. Three verbs belong to this category, ديدب "to trail," خيخن "to play the hypocrite," قيقب "to flee, run away." Although ديدب is recorded in Dozy, its meaning is different from that of Rās. These verbs are formed from the biliteral roots دب "to creep," خن for خان "to deceive," and قب "to rise up." In this form, too, we may see a fa'fa' in which the second radical is substituted for a ي for dissimilative purposes. One expects the labial ب in ديدب and قيقب to have been changed into a و as in كوكب, but for some unknown reason the ي appears instead, probably by analogy with the form fay'al.

Quadriliterals Which Are Formed By Augmentation

We shall treat these forms under three divisions: 1) those which have the formative as a prefix, 2) those which have the formative as an infix, and 3) those which have it as a suffix.

1) Forms That Have A Prefix

a) 'af'al

This form exists in classical Arabic and in some other Semitic languages.²⁰ The number of verbs in this category is five, one of which is in Dozy. In 'akbar, "to exaggerate," "to make much ado about nothing," we have a definite case where the ع is a causative element,²¹ and probably in عطر "to pluck grapes off the stem."

It may be, as Fränkel²² seems to assume that this more or less is a dialectic exaggeration of the hamzah of af'al. Yet on the other hand this ع may very well have been in very ancient times associated with a definite concept. If we follow the reasoning of the early Arab philologists, who tried to associate meaning with sound, we shall find that the ع is basic in concepts such as implied in عصب عر دم عجره عجاج عتو علو عتم عظيم عصب عر عتوق etc. By the nature of the sound, ع like the ح prefers the broad a vowel after it. So this عa may have been associated with volume, size, magnitude, or force. As a matter of fact the sounds ع ح ق do impress the sense of hearing of one to whom Arabic is the native language with a feeling of force and fullness. It may not be far from the fact that the sounds represented by these three letters in early times were used as causative or intensive formatives.

²⁰Siegmund Fränkel, Beiträge zur Erklärung der Mehrlautigen Bildungen in Arabischen (1878); H. S. Nyberg, "Wortbildung mit Präfixen in den semitischen Sprachen," Monde Orientale, vol. 14; A. Joly, op. cit., no. 13.

²¹S. T. H. Hurwitz, Root Determinatives in Semitic Speech (1913), p. 57, says: "no direct evidence, beyond what has been shown, exists to prove that the preformative () and h fall under the causative category."

²²Cf. Fränkel, op. cit., pp. 1 f.

b) Baf'al²³

There are بفعل forms in classical Arabic.²⁴ The number of verbs in this category is fifteen. We shall meet this ب as a formative in fa'bal and fab'al.

A study of the meaning of the بفعل formations allows one to make the generalization that it is causative in its nature. Cf. يسع "to make room," بشلل "to perplex," "to leave one at a loss." Its origin is not very clear, but one may suggest that it belongs to the class م which appears in the verb form maf'al, and which is the same م as that of the مصدرمعي and the م of من and ما. This ب is a deictic element.²⁵ It is a preposition expressing primarily accompaniment, hence, "with." It is also حرف قسم as in بانه in which case it should belong to the same deictic element as the ت in تانه and the و in وانه.

c) Daf'al

The existence of this form has been noticed by A. Joly.²⁶ It exists in the classical Arabic.²⁷ We shall meet this د as an infix in fa'dal. The number of verbs in this category is twenty-four. The function of the د in some of them is clearly an element of causation or transitivity such as in دهور, "to cause

²³Cf. Joly, *op. cit.*, no. 17.

²⁴Cf. بحظل باذن بحدل بهرج بهتر بجنج برقع برقط (and ذعر ذعر). بذعر

²⁵Cf. V. Christian, "Die Deiktischen Elemente in den semitischen Sprachen nach Herkunft, Anwendung und Verwandtschaft untersucht," Wiener Zeit. für d. Kunde des Morgen., vol. 31, p. 142. Bi and Ba are prefixes which appear in Sumerian; cf. Arno Poebel, Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik (Rostock, 1923), pp. 237 ff., 243 ff.

²⁶Cf. Joly, *op. cit.*, no. 29.

²⁷Cf. دعكل دغوش ريخ درنخ دتكس دهمس دهدم

to fall over a precipice" (cf. ميار = precipice), and نكس "to lower the head," from نكس.

This ن may be classed with the formative ت²⁸ and should be identified with the Semitic deictic Syriac ܢ; which in classical Arabic is ن and zain in Hebrew and older Aramaic and which constitutes a demonstrative and relative pronominal element.²⁹ It must be admitted that not all the etymologies connected with verbs of this category are final. Some, to be sure, are definitely daf'al. There are some, however, which may admit other etymological derivation.

d) Haf'al

We shall meet this formative ح also as an infix in fah'al. This belongs to the same class as the ع and ق. Traces of haf'al are not lacking in classical Arabic.³⁰ The number of quadriliterals in this category is eight. Unfortunately the number of examples is too small to warrant any safe deductions. The same remark made above (in connection with 'af'al) about the laryngeal ع may hold true of the ح, namely, that it is a sound associated with تخيم. In Egyptian a h-prefix has been noticed.³¹ Examples of haf'al: حلمس "to pass the hand gently over the body," "to caress," from لمس "to touch"; حوكم and تحوكم "to gather together," "to assemble," "to pile up," from كم with metathesis.

²⁸Cf. V. Christian, op. cit., p. 173.

²⁹Cf. Jakob Barth, Pronominalbildung in den semitischen (Leipzig, 1913), p. 103, pp. 152 ff.

³⁰Cf. حوكل حطمر حصم حنشر حبتو حديج حبرك

³¹Cf. Wiener Zeit. für d. Kunde des Morgen, vol. 39, pp. 287 ff.

e) Maf'al³²

This form is characterized by an m-prefix. It is a very common form in Dāriġ. The number of verbs in this category is forty-seven, a very small number of which do not have an independent existence in Dāriġ, with the same meaning, and living side by side with the derived form maf'al. The function of the م is, based on a study of the difference in meaning between the triliteral and the quadriliteral, causative and intensive; for example,

مضع "to pass time," "to absent one's self," from ضاع ;
مخلع "to disjoin," as compared with خلع . As to the origin of the م we must not disassociate it from the م of the مصدرية , the participles, and the م in ما , the relative pronouns which originally were demonstrative in nature.

This form may be denominal in origin. The maṣḍar of this form is very regular مفعلة and the maṣḍars of all of these verbs live in the Dāriġ.

f) Naf'al

Of this form we have in this collection one example نمرود and تتمرّد , "to act tyrannically," "to be an oppressor," "to act offensively." One may think of it as denominal from نمرود , old Nimrod and his ilk who are supposed to be جبابرة من اقدماء , "tyrants of old." But there is a possibility of its being a naf'al form from مرد in which case this ن would be the same as the ن of the classical Arabic انفعّل , Hebrew nif'al, an old middle-passive of the simple stem, with a tendency to become intransitive. The example cited by Hurwitz, page 47, نخرب as a naf'al for classical Arabic is not correct, for the root beyond doubt is نخر the form being fa'lab. In Dāriġ نخور and نؤخر live side by side

³²Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 21.

with نخر "to bore."

g) Qaf'al

This form is attested in few classical Arabic quadriliterals.³³ In this collection we have eleven verbs. To be sure, some may permit other etymologies, but some are definitely a qaf'al, for example, قشمر "to roll back (sleeves or skirt)" is exactly like قشمر ; قنبر "to sprout (of plants)," "to pop up," is from قنبر , قنبر has the same meaning. The origin of the ق is not clear. Whether or not it is an exaggerated form of hamza remains questionable. On the other hand it may be viewed as belonging to the same class as the ح and ع . The sound represented by the ق may have been associated with the idea of تخيم (rendering grand, impressive, imposing, commanding awe), hence, intensifying or magnifying.

h) Saf'al³⁴

In this category we have ten quadriliterals. This س is to be associated with ش . These two letters interchange rather freely in all Semitic languages.³⁵ The س appears in some quadriliterals in classical Arabic (cf. سلقى); it appears in استعمل , and is regularly the causative element in Minsean South Arabic. It appears also in old Egyptian. As to its origin and function, this must be studied in connection with the ش in شغل . The verb زنع , "to gush out," "to spout out with force," may be construed as saf'al from نبع with the س changed into ز .

³³Cf. قحطر قحفر قشعر قعسر

³⁴Cf. Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 522; Joly, op. cit., no. 39.

³⁵Cf. D. B. MacDonald, "The Interchange of Sibilants and Dentals in Semitic," AJSL, vol. 15, pp. 100 ff.; Theo. H. Robinson, "Some Features of the Sibilants in Sem. Lang.," Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, vol. 8, pp. 81 ff.

Joly, *op. cit.*, no. 38, recognizes a zaf'al form, but unfortunately most of his examples are not zaf'al as زبط from ربط ; زخر from نخر ; زقر from نقر . (See these verbs in part II.) It may be also that زلغط "to sing war or wedding songs," is saf'al from لغط with س changed to ز . (لغط may be the same as لغرد ; cf. زغرد with metathesis and لتر)

1) Shaf'al³⁶

In this category there are thirty-seven verbs, very few of which are in Dozy. If جعلك , "to wrinkle" is shaf'al from علك with the ش ج , the list would be thirty-eight. That هرش and هرج , both meaning "to scratch," and from طرش and طرح both meaning "to smash."

This form is a survival of Aramaic speech in which the ش is a causative element. Traces of shaf'al or saf'al are to be found in all Semitic languages. The primary function is causation, but in the saf'al and shaf'al groups of this collection we find that many are not transitive, for example, شفخ from نفخ "to swell up," is intransitive. But there is likelihood that to the primitive mind the agent (الفاعل) is the object itself, hence, شفخت الفتيحة , "the green fig has swollen up (begun to ripen)," might have been construed by naïve man as, "the green fig swelled itself up." افعل , which is causative in Arabic, is intransitive in many cases — a phenomenon which troubled the mediaeval Arabic linguists and called for several works on افعلت and فعلت .

Su (hu), the third person singular masculine, may be related to this ش , which is a deictic element appearing in other pronominal and relative forms.

³⁶ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grund.*, I, p. 525; Joly, *op. cit.*, no. 40; *Beiträge zur Assyriol.*, I, pp. 384 ff.; Feghāfi, *Kfar*, p. 198.

j) Taf'al³⁷

Examples of this form, though few, are not lacking in most Semitic languages. We have eight verbs that belong to this category, one of which is in Dozy (ترجم). The function of the ت , as judged by the meaning of the few examples we have, seems to be causative. The origin of this form may be denominal from (the maḡdar تفعيل تفعله تفعال . The ت should not be different from the deictic pronominal ت which is found in انت . Cf. تفاعل , تفعّل .

k) Taf'al

The existence of this form has not been noticed before. We have six verbs which belong to this category, none of which is in Dozy. This ف must be the same as the ع of taf'al. The velarization of it may have been influenced by the nature of the consonants which follow, as in طهّج , "to walk clumsily," from هجّ (this verb may be fa'wal from طهّج , cf. this in Dārij, "to walk in the dark").

3) Forms That Have an Infix

a) Fa'ʿal³⁸

This form should not be confused with the second stem فَعَّل . In this form we have the laryngeal ع actually infixed after the vowel of the first radical of the trilateral. There are eight verbs which belong to this category. Whether this formative is for phonetic reasons (dissimilation) or whether it is for semantic purposes one cannot tell, especially because the few examples

³⁷Cf. Barth, Nominal, p. 274 ff.; Brockelmann, Grund., I, pp. 383 ff.; Paul de Lagarde, Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina, p. 182; O'Leary, Comp. Gram., pp. 183 ff.; Joly, op. cit., no. 25.

³⁸Joly, op. cit., no. 14.

we have do not throw much light on this point. For example,
 كعش "to grab, catch," from كعش ; بعجر "to spoil very
 ripe fruits by handling them harshly," from بعجر .

b) Fab'al³⁹

The characteristic of this form is a b infixed after the vowel of the first radical. We shall see this same b infixed after the second radical, fa-bal, which seems to be much more common than fab'al. There are two examples in this category, one of which is in Dozy. They are كبتل "to mould any viscous body into round small balls," from كبتل of the classical Arabic, and كيشل "to form dusters" from كيشل related to كشل (cf. كشل in Ges.). This latter may as well be a fa'lal with the final ل suffixed from كيش (cf. Dāriġ, كيش "a berry").

c) Fah'al⁴⁰

In this form an h is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. In this category we have four verbs: دهلز دهلز دهلز زهلق which all mean one and the same thing, "to be smooth," "to play the hypocrite," "to be cunning and wily," "to tell a lie." The first two دهلز دهلز may be the same verb with an س ز. The other two زهلق دهلز may also be the same verb with د ز. The root of the first two is دلس "to paint," "to cover up with a layer." This is related to طلس same meaning. Cf. also دلس "to tell a lie," "to play the hypocrite." Fränkel⁴¹ identifies this root with Latin dolus, Greek δολος (cf. Levy דול). It is of interest to

³⁹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 18.

⁴⁰Joly, op. cit., no. 61, recognizes it as a form in classical Arabic العمل, but unfortunately bases his observation on one and the only example ادلهم, from دلم "to be black," but it is very probable that it is from دهم "black horse." Also p. 432 explains دهرج for دهرج as دهلج (?).

⁴¹Fränkel, Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, p. 188.

note, too, that دلس may be a daf'al from هلس in Dāriǰ "to tell a lie"; cf. classical Arabic: هلس الحديث اخفاء. The root of the other two may be زلق (cf. Syriac ܙܠܚ "to shine"). This infixed h follows related postdental and precedes an l in all four. In view of this *mêlée* of verbs one is inclined to see in them a widespread conflation on the popular tongue; fah'al is thus doubtful.

d) Fah'al

In this form a laryngeal h is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. For example طهش from طهش "to smash" (cf. also طرش "to smash"), لمس "to pass the hand gently over something," "to caress," from لمس "to touch."

e) Fal'al

In this form an l is infixed after the vowel of the first radical.⁴² There are seventeen verbs in this category, خلبط and لخبط being the same verb. There are only four of these mentioned in Dozy. This l is related to the ر in far'al which may be a phonetic substitute for doubling, often called dissimilation.⁴³ If this is the case, then فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل should be variant forms of original فعل. But there will always remain the main problem to solve, namely, what determines the use of one formative rather than the other? In other words, when do فعل appear as far'al? and when does it appear as fan'al? One may answer by saying that the consonants following determine the kind of formative. A study of this collection, though larger than any other one of its kind, does not warrant a generalization.

⁴²Cf. Joly, *op. cit.*, no. 35.

⁴³Cf. Ruzicka, *op. cit.*; Brockelmann, *Grund.*, I, pp. 24 ff., 510 ff.

is also not certain that all are truly intensives or causatives. Examples of fa'al, بلم "to quiet down," "to make one be silent," "dumb-mute," from بكم ; بلعط "to wriggle," "to play in water," from بعط , same meaning; شلوط "to burn, scorch," from شاط "to burn."

f) Fam'al⁴⁴

In this form an m is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. The number of verbs in this category is five, none of which is in Dozy. For example, تعمشق "to climb up," "to entwine," (said of ivy or tendrils which wind themselves around something, عمشته "ivy") from عشق "to stick to," "adhere to"; حمرق "to become furious, angry," from حرق "to burn"; but this last example may be for fa'ral from حق for حنق .

g) Fan'al⁴⁵

In this form an n is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. This form is generally regarded as a dissimilated intensive form (for fa'al). In this collection we have forty-nine verbs, few of which are in Dozy. The majority of them reflect a shade of intensity of action, for example, فنجر "to open the eyes widely in amazement, anger or fear," from نجر , شنيك "to interlace, interweave," from شيك . It is difficult to tell whether this n is added for dissimilative reasons before a certain particular class or classes of consonants, for a survey of the list shows that no rule could be deduced.

This n appears in Aramaic.⁴⁶ Its prevalence in the Lebanon

⁴⁴Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 35.

⁴⁵Joly, op. cit., does not mention fan'al but fa'nal, no. 43; Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 510a; Feghālī, Kfar, p. 197.

⁴⁶Cf. Kautzsch, Gram. des Bib.-Aramäisch, p. 30, parag. 11, 4, ; cf. also P. Leander, Laut-und Formenlehre d. Äg.-Aramäisch,

may be due to an Aramaic type or pattern.

h) Far'al⁴⁷

In this form an r is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. This form is very much alive in the Lebanons. Our list shows eighty-eight verbs, very few of which are in Dozy. The recognition of the trilateral root is not difficult; in not more than twenty cases is the trilateral non-existent in Dāriġ. This form belongs to the class of dissimilated intensive stems. Again it is difficult to determine the factor which governs the infixing of an r instead of doubling the middle letter, for this r precedes all classes of consonants, for example, برحش "to scratch," from بحش (for classical Arabic بحث ; برقع "to stain," "to leave spots," from بقع , حرکش "to stir," "to poke fire," from حکش (cf. also حكوش , same meaning).

i) Faw'al⁴⁸

This is another very common existing form in the Lebanons. Its characteristic is the infixation of a w after the vowel of the first radical. The number of verbs in this category is eighty-seven, very few of which are in Dozy. This is also regarded as a dissimilated intensive form. Many of these verbs show intensity of action. The determining factor as before what class of consonants the w is infixed is difficult to establish. For example, نوبل "to wither," from نبل ; بورد "to feel cool," from برد ; حوزق "to have hiccoughs," from حزق .

p. 17: "Gemination wurde in Aram. sehr oft durch den Einschub eines n aufgelöst."

⁴⁷Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 32; Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 510a; Feghālf, Kfar, p. 196.

⁴⁸Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 45; Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 514; Barth, Nominalbildung, pp. 54 ff.; Feghālī, Kfar, p. 194.

j) Fay'al⁴⁹

In this form a y is infixed after the vowel of the first radical. The number of verbs in this category is twenty-three, very few of which (three) are in Dozy. This form is causative in function and takes the place of فعل or افعل in classical Arabic. I paid special attention to the use of the very commonly used verbs نزل ليعب تبعد نيلت طيلع يبعد "to lower," "to play some one," "to make one sit, be seated," "to let loose," "to lift up or take up," "to put far," which in classical Arabic would be in the فعل or افعل form, and found that very rarely indeed do people use (at least in Rās) نزل etc. We have a somewhat similar phenomenon of this ay in the conjugation of the media geminated verb with the pronominal suffix of the second person, as in ḥaṭṭayt, maddayt, (for classical ḥaṭṭattu, maddattu) which may have very different reasons for this.

Forms With Infix After the Second Radical

a) Fa'bal⁵⁰

In this form a b is infixed after the second radical. The number of verbs in this category is seventeen, counting غلب and لغبط as one and the same verb. For example, شحبر "to blacken (especially with soot شحطار)," from شحر which is Syriac ܫܚܪ; غلب "to confuse," "to make one commit a mistake," (as when counting and some one starts speaking to you) from غلط "to make a mistake." Judging by the number of fa'bal verbs, one may say that fab'al, of which we have only two examples, is a metathesis of this form.

This b is related to m in fa'mal and fam'al. A study of

⁴⁹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 47; Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 514; Barth, Nominal, pp. 54 ff.; Feghālī, Kfar, p. 195.

⁵⁰Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 19; Feghālī, Kfar, p. 197.

the seventeen verbs we have, shows us that the ب follows ل five times, ر four times, ع four times, ح twice and ش once. The greater number of them are transitive and some show a shade of intensity.

b) Fa'dal⁵¹

There are seven verbs in this category. There may be some doubt as to هادر "to roar," being fa'dal, for it may as well be a fam'al from هادر "to roar." Also خرق "to break down," "to pierce or perforate a thing with small holes," may be denominal from خرق (Persian), "small shot," but it may be a fa'dal from خرق "to perforate," "to pierce through." This d may be the same the t in fa'lal. In our list it comes after an r four times, after an n twice, and after an m once.

c) Fa'lal⁵²

In this form an l is infixed after the second radical. The number of verbs in this category is ten. The l comes after the ع , ه , ح , after the و , ف , ی , و , م . For example, زحلط and ترحلط "to skid," "to skate," "to slide," from زحط "to skid"; كولش "to gather greedily," "to be avaricious," (in that one strives to be gathering, getting, grabbing), from كاش .

d) Fa'mal⁵³

In this form an m is infixed after the second radical. The number of verbs in this category is eighteen, very few of which are in Dozy. This m follows an r five times in this group. For example, قرمش "to eat," "to eat things that crack under the

⁵¹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 30.

⁵²Ibid., no. 36.

⁵³Cf. Feghālī, Kfar, p. 196; Joly, op. cit., no. 23.

teeth (as toast or roasted nuts)," from قَرَش , same meaning;
قَرِط "to nip off by the teeth," "to cut off the tips of a shrub
or tree, etc.," from قَرَط related to قَرَض .

e) Fa'nal⁵⁴

The n which is the same as in fan'al is infixed here after the second radical. This n appears much more frequently after the vowel of the first radical, fan'al. The very few cases we have of fa'nal indicate that they are metatheses for the regular fan'al, for example, كَرَش "to wrinkle," "to shrivel up," from كَرِش may be for كَرِش . It is interesting to note that the six verbs we have, have r as the middle radical. An n following an r is easier than when preceding it.

f) Fa'ral⁵⁵

In this form an r is infixed after the second radical. There are seven verbs in this category. For example عَرَب "to curl," "to make into a hook," from عَرَب related to عَرَف and عَرَف , Syriac ܥܪܦ basic عَرَف meaning bend twist (cf. classical Arabic, عَرَف and عَرَف).⁵⁶

g) Fa'tal⁵⁷

There are seven verbs in this category. One حَرَف "to devise, contrive to use all sorts of ways or means," from حَرَف (cf. Dār. حَرَف) shows metathesis from probably حَرَف , or it may represent a fat'al. Examples of this form سَرَج "to flow

⁵⁴Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 43; cf. discussion on fan'al above.

⁵⁵Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 33; cf. discussion on far'al above.

⁵⁶Brockelmann, Grund., I, p. 371, lists this word as one of those: "...die sich nicht mehr auf dreiradicalige Stämme reduzieren lassen."

⁵⁷Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 27.

(especially of oil or fat when spilled or when it overflows a container)," from سرح ; نشق "to crack," "to cause an earthenware vessel to crack or have cracks," from نسق for Hebrew פִּשַׁק, Syriac ܦܫܩ, Aramaic ܦܫܩ. شقر "to turn up the lips in anger or disgust," hence, "to become angry, vexed," presents a problem as to whether it is from شف "lip" (common to all Semitic languages) with an r (fa·lar) at the end, the ت being the third radical (or more correctly to conform with triliterality),⁵⁸ or from شقر, cf. classical Arabic مشقر, "lip of the camel." شحتر and شحطر may be the same verb, from شحر for Syriac ܫܚܪ "to blacken."

h) Fa'wal⁵⁹

This form is extremely common in Lebanese Dāriǰ. It is one of the forms which is very naturally formed of ordinary triliteral roots, for example, حكوش "to poke," "to prick," "to clean the teeth with a toothpick," exists side by side with حكش ; حروق "to burn" exists with حرق. Of the eighty-seven verbs which fall under this category, very few, indeed not more than seven, do not exist in the triliteralized form in Dāriǰ. Dozy records a very small number, not more than five. The و imparts to the derived form a sense of intensity and vehemence. In no other form does the significance of a formative show clearly as in fa'wal.

i) Fa'yal⁶⁰

This may be regarded as metathesis of the form fay'al.

⁵⁸Cf. Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, pp. 69-72; ibid., Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissen., pp 127 ff. (on Safat).

⁵⁹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 46.

⁶⁰Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 20; cf. also discussion about

We have two forms only and in both of them the middle letter is r; ⁶¹ this r prefers the n to follow and also the ay. The verbs are تريف and تريف, "to be nauseated," "to be sickened (by a bad smell or horrible sight)," from ترف; هرط "to become weak," "to lose weight after being fat," from هرط.

3) Forms Which have the Formative as a Suffix

a) Fa·lā ⁶²

This form occurs in Syriac (cf. ܬܕܐ and ܚܕܐ). This ā appears also in انعلی. In classical Arabic a form فعلا ⁶³ exists too. Final hamza quiesces in Dāriḡ. Cf. Dāriḡ, qira, "to read." There are six verbs in this category, counting فرجى and ورجى as one and the same verb. The six of them are all transitive, and some of them stand for فعل. For example, طعمى "to feed," for classical Arabic اطعم or طعم; كوشى "to pile up," synonymous with كوش from كوش; فرجى "to show," is synonymous with فرج, same meaning.

b) Fa·lab ⁶⁴

In this form a b is suffixed. There are three examples of this form, counting دركب and دركب, as one and the same verb. They are دركب or دركب "to roll down," "to tumble down" from درك and كرعوب (كرعونه) "Tendon Achilles," "foot of a sheep or goat," from كرع (see this word in part II). قطرب may be from قطر or قطب (?).

fay'al above.

⁶¹Cf. discussion on fa nal.

⁶²Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 49.

⁶³Ibid., no. 12.

⁶⁴Ibid., no. 20; this form occurs in classical Arabic, for example, نخر from نخر which Hurwitz mistook for naḡ'al (cf. Hurwitz, p. 47).

The final ب suffix must belong to the m suffix. Unfortunately the examples are so few in number that we are unable to deduce any general statement as to either the meaning or whether or not it must be the same as m but changed into ب under some phonetic rule.

c) Fa'lal⁶⁵

In this form an l is suffixed. There are eleven verbs in this category. For example, حوئل "to go around," "to watch," "to keep an eye on some one by following him about," from حاق (و) قفش "to gather up together," "to grab," from قفش same meaning; غرئل "to sift," from which we get غرئال, "sieve," from غرب for an original √غرب; cf. Syriac احدث "to be sifted"; زغل "to cheat," may be fa'w'al from زغل "to cheat (of foods or liquids, 'to adulterate')," or it may be fa'lal from زاغ (و) "to deviate," "to go to one side," hence "to go astray and cheat."

d) Fa'lam⁶⁶

An m is suffixed in this form. Leaving aside (بقم) "an ink-stand," whose etymology is not clear and بقمه which may be سقم , we are left with three examples, زلعم "to scream," "to utter in a shrill loud voice," from زلعم "throat," from زلع "to swallow"; قرطم "to nip off," "to cut off the tops of branches," from قرط ; قرع "to cut off all branches from a vine or mulberry so as to have new shoots the following spring," from قرع (cf. اقرع "bald").

⁶⁵Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 37.

⁶⁶Ibid., no. 24.

e) Fa'lan⁶⁷

This is characterized by an n suffix. This form is very much alive in Lebanon. It is denominal in origin. The number of verbs in this category is forty-one, very few indeed to be found in Dozy. The maṣdar فعلنه , which pattern may be the Syriac noun forms حَمَلْنَا حَمَلْنَا . Many verbs in this category are derived from colors, as, صفرن "to become pale (lit. yellow)," سودن "to blacken, hence to make sad"; many come from names of animals, such as, تحمن from حمار , from كلب "to act like a donkey, dog." The fa lan form, of all of them, is definitely causative transitive. The fa lan is the reflexive intransitive, for example, غشمن "to tell one, or to make him feel that he is (غشيم) stupid, dull, a simpleton"; تغشمن "to act as if stupid, dull."

f) Fa'lar⁶⁸

In this form we have an r suffixed, for example, زغب "to have a surface of pile (like velvet)," "to form fuzz or down," from زغب , same meaning; شختر "to scratch," from شخط "to scratch"; زهر "to swell," "to be inflamed (used of a wound)," from زه , related to دمه "to glow." This last example is a fam'al(?) in Joly (op. cit., no. 22).

g) Fa'las

I think of one example only, حرقص "to roast," "to fry (figuratively, 'to tease')," in which the س is made emphatic after ق ; the root is حرق "to burn, scorch."

⁶⁷ Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 44; Feghālī, Kfar, p. 197.

⁶⁸ Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 34.

h) Fa'lash

There are three examples in this category, لقمش "to eat," from لقم ; فرطش "to break, smash (used especially of pine-cones)," from فرط ; قرطش "to cut off the tips (as of branches, shrubs, etc.)," from قرط .

i) Fa'lat⁶⁹

The only example we have is صفت "to become yellow," (of fruits or vegetables) "to rot, decay while still on the tree or plant"; the root is صفر .

j) Taf'an(?)

There is one verb in this collection, ترخن "to feel comfortable," "to enjoy luxury and ease," which seems to come from the common Semitic رخ "to be soft"; Syriac, ܪܚܝܬ "to be soft."

k) Farma' (?)

(عرط) عرموطه "a knotty piece of wood that does not burn easily, but smothers and smokes," "a piece of charcoal which smokes," may be from the root عضّ . Cf. classical Arabic عضاء Hebrew עץ "wood."

⁶⁹Cf. Joly, op. cit., no. 28.

